136 carries string' (to'ntom si'lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me'tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai''yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta'ṭaiṭa'ṭai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka'l ta·ka'l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite'-t‹ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko'ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo'toi'i. A small lizard (wile'li) and another one "with colors on it" were known in
● 773 the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o'ho ma ṭ‹'pni; wile'li ṭ‹'pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ṭi'y‹ nan pu'ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao'siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po''ol‹lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we'tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alaṭa'na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi''‹tawat. The bullfrog was called ə'oi'‹ts by the Tachi, but wipel‹ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

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[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

[P. 28a]

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tütic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ʾnkas:	crow
su ʾhup:	hawk
l:m:k:	prairie falcon
o ʾčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ʾhwimus:	swan
tsu·tokto ʾklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyot ʾwat:	frog (small)
o:o ʾy:ts:	frog (large)
ma ʾčw:s:	elk
y:tsa ʾhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ʾyu:	coyote
weṭi ʾṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ʾlu:	"hoot" owl
tokla ʾli:	"screech" owl
poho ʾ:ot [sic]:	weasel
poho ʾ:ot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ʾnul:	wildcat
a ʾdza:	fox

[773]

[67]Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68]Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69]All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[262]

[70]Ground squirrels were eaten by Tukelyuwich people.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 776 A very long time ago there were two girls called ta·ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya·mi na·watsa·meke·', elao·ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the man what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi·t·p a·ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu·us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

[756]

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 821 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

539 773 The sweat house.---The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho' na'a, hoyoho' na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 In the first world Deer was a quiet man
539 who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then
773 when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact,
485 only a chief could order one killed. He paid
237 $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as
[534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 773 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mets to ·hi·l) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (we·ts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi·'te·s), and grey eagle (ṭoho·l), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi 'ta pŏ 'dta ma ṭupo· 'nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi 'po·ni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

[281] The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P 72 a]

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Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

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Weapons.---The plain bow (ta'dup) and sinew-backed bow (tap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse'ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was [773 thought that, if a girl ate quail, when 825] her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´šːt) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyːt, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´duwːts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle. A The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
[516] palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up con-
tinuously while the men jumped and walked back-
ward to their former positions three times. The
whole performance lasted no more than ten
minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be re-
peated under any circumstances until the follow-
ing year. For this reason it was particularly
admired, and urgent demands for repetition from
the onlookers, with consequent refusals from
the dancers, seem to have been a traditional
part of the affair. If the spectacle were to
be witnessed again that season, it would have
to be in some other village or tribe with other
dancers.

● [773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer
whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spec-
tators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's
see your hair!" At once the black portions
turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to
dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown
and saw a little bear dancing beside a small
oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs
and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree
three times. Then he clawed up some earth and
threw it at the little tree. The tree was his
singer and the little bear was mad because the
singer made a mistake. The human dancers act
just the same way [not toward their singer,
however] and will not look back over their
shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were
out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance.
He was near a little white oak which they be-
lieved was his singer. He jumped and grunted
three times, then he grabbed at the tree and
playfully mauled it. Three times he did this
and then went off. The women were much pleased
at the spectacle.

A [in the Bear Dance. -Anthyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´č:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭ'ı́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi´te luni ˇša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both [616] moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

● 773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ˇša) lasted for a six-day week called ču´lipi laka´n.
535 The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[p. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 kʊ ˊno·no·

si li kaˊnaˊha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (seˊel) and water (iˊlːk) and supernatural power (tːpni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled (?) the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 177 He conceived God as God (not tːpni or Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the yaˇyːl hawk and son of Eagle.

● 773 821 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Yaˊolːč, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša ˊmiu, spring, about February to April; haiˊaˊlu, summer, May to October; tomoˊksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 276 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (taˊnai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summer-time and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

[P. 159a] Dumna

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him, and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

●773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text Continues Top of Page 159b, --- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra [826] Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text Continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] [46] B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47] Gayton and Newman, 28.

[P. 162 a] Kechayi

621 192 723 Star lore.---Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pːš: sun
toiyu´ nem u´pːš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nːš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]
soiyo´lui yawačːt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.
wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."
we´čːn čano´´onːt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.---The year was divided into moon months (yːt u´pːš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčːn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lːpi, six).

823 Earthquake.---E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 301 Snake-charm.---In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 387 822 192 Paint.---The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

[P. 1729] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large
825 enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any lo-
[756] cality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing,"
775 an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not con-
777 scious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ´šna)
956 was a favorite performance for evening enter-
535 tainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 213 b] Western Mono NS25

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a´nt:mp:č]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a´pusowi·´:tunü´´üm: Toll House
huro´g:čnü´´üm: southeast of last
yui´ninü´´üm: south of last

Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o´ču
Michahai: pa´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu´mi; dai´apnu´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češ:´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa´o; čita´tu
Entimbich: kečai´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada´winao; sit: minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

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22. na''an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho'naga'tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa'čivo·no: Old Baldy-Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama'ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso''owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa'čiata'wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa'na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa'giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi''iu: Badger
31. kiču''u: Ash Springs
32. tuša'o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa'nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna'o: fish camp
35. o'polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati'': Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa'uwijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai'binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa"wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo''owots), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Canon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siw:´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi´a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi´an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´n:č) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´´ša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ´niša´n nan wan upuš n:m (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawan:č or site´lši tawan:č." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192

Seasons:
ta´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W Y 773 821

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušl:l:n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[166]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

W Y 622

Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[166] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K·lmi šət, winatum, and the chief, Pao'·č, at Tušao.

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini' hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'·č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K·lmišət, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K·lmišət stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'·č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'·č was helped by all his ain·č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K·lmišət would help hoist him up.

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'·č and K·lmišət "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua'kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Bear---Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear (i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member) learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

[169] The identification of tua'kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

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The Transvestite

838 [767] The male transvestite (tono ˊčːm, Michahai; taiˊyap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

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[788] 767 The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonoˇčːm figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

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[773]

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[767] While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

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Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

561 192 naˊna huaˊčiči: newborn boy
huˊˊpi huaˊčiči: newborn girl
naˊnači: boy about two years old
siˊiˊsači: girl about two years old
huaˊwuha naˊnači (or siˊisači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
naˊnop naˊnači: boy five to ten years old
huˊuˊpi moˊnanop: girl five to ten years old
moaˊbi naˊnop: youth twelve to twenty years old

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

[177] The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north [171] of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute [773] all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts [302] add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadwoush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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This man was living at San Benito in 1925. When a young girl his grandmother had been taken from a village in the tules east of present Los Banos and kept at Mission San Juan Bautista. He is probably not a full-blood, but has interesting features.

Gustine]. There had been big Indian village there. We saw lots big holes in ground where Indian got their houses. Sopahno tell me he was there to big *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) [mourning dance for the dead] whep he was small boy. He call that village *Hak-kah'-wahl*. He said it was Honoumne village.

"Sopahno's old-time stories were just like ours—how Eagle make the world, how Antelope make the milky way, and

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

how the Kahwatchwah got fire. He told me lots more things 'bout his people, but I guess I forget 'em. It's too long ago."

During November and December of 1815, Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico made an excursion into the Joaquin after Indians who had run many horses away from Mission San Juan Bautista. In his diary-report covering this expedition, Pico mentioned several Indian names which may be the names of Indian tribes, of villages, or of headmen of villages.

Pico stated that his party traveled easterly from San Luis Gonzaga, which is located definitely enough to be positively identified as present San Luis Gonzaga Rancho Headquarters at the east mouth of Pacheo Pass. Leaving San Luis in the evening and traveling eastwardly, the party arrived about midnight "at the creek called San Jose."

At first thought one might decide that the San Jose Creek mentioned would be the well known Sanjon de San Jose in the vicinity of San Jose School, Kings County. But between evening and midnight they could not possibly have traveled that far, a distance of seventy-five miles, airline, and at least ninety miles by known trails. The nearest point on that channel, now known as Fish Slough, southeast of Mendota, is fifty miles airline from San Luis, and about sixty-five miles by the old trail.

Pico's party certainly did not travel at more than five miles an hour, or at most, twenty-five miles between seven P. M. and midnight. This would have taken them to about the present Santa Rita Rancho, directly east from San Luis. They probably traveled at a rate of about three miles an hour. One can be certain that at midnight they were somewhere between San Luis Camp (seven miles north of present Los Baños) and present Dos Palos.

The Pico force rested from midnight until "time to fall upon the rancherie of the *Che neches.*" The name used could have been that of the local chief, the tribe, or the village. One would suppose it was the name of the tribe, but experience has taught that the name of the tribe was seldom obtained by such parties. Most often they designated villages and even tribes by the name of the local Headman, who was well known to them and who was on their "must" list.

Four leagues away (anywhere from nine to fifteen miles, according to the accuracy with which such expeditions estimated distance) was a "rancherie called *Nopchendies.*" The

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun* [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

"When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head. So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a
531 messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out
825 punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant
773 had the most painful sting of anything about them. The
story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these
three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who
[774] turned in the names of good people who were called in by
Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters,
who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to
death and ate him.

285 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs
531 and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow
points. They are generally represented by two small slender
triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close
together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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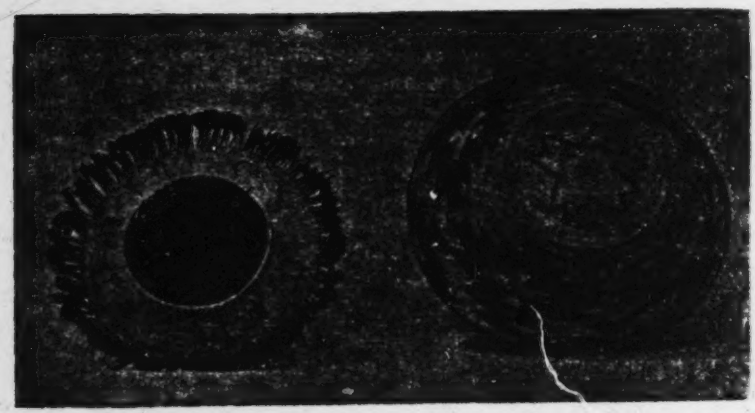

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Left: Top view of a **Wukchumne** creation basket with quail top-knot feathers as decorations around the edge. It was made to be burned at the periodic pageant which reenacted the creation of world. The stitches are very fine, some almost fifty to the inch. In the bottom is **Cheitus**, the morning star. The world was finished just as the morning star was beginning to fade. Around the side is a design taken from the pattern on rattlesnake's back. Rattlesnake was the agent of **Tihpiknits**, Yokuts St. Peter. It was his business to crawl about spying on bad people whose names should be sent in to Tihpiknits. Around the rim are the bow and arrows, sent to the earth by the sun when he went to live in the sky. To the right is the new moon. The world was created during the new moon. Next is **Yuhk**, the watersnake, first water dweller. Next is **Sakwakit**, the turtle, who brought up from the bottom of the universal water the mud from which the world was made. Next is **Wyneea**, the first man, swimming up from the water. Next is bow and arrow, repeated. Then is **Tsuh-tah**, the oak tree, first tree in the Yokuts world. Next is turtle repeated. Last is **mah-mis** (blackberry), the first fruit. Right: On the bottom is **Cheitus**, the morning star. This is another creation basket, one of the most difficult patterns the author has seen. It shows Eagle, the Yokuts Creator, in white, with a red border, which creates another eagle, the white spaces between the four eagles making another eagle. It is an all over pattern which dovetails so as to allow of no waste space. The stitches are fine, about thirty-two to the inch.

among the old baskets a representation of either the bow or arrow in a form resembling their true shape.

Houses are often shown by a small low triangle which makes no attempt to show either the smoke opening in the top, or the door-way. Houses may be shown in any color.

Among the many traditions about basketry designs which are, according to the experience of this writer, clearly in need of correction is the one which states that purposely none of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak*, I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name.

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake.

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things.

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko*, (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt*, the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world.

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool*. It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer.

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race.

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day.

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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bodied in Yokuts verbal narratives (mythology). The grand chronology was 805
divided into two major parts—a remote past or prehuman era, and recent times
or human era—an ancient "then" and an immediate "now." The prehuman era 805
was that of a world created and occupied by birds and animals of superanimal 773
and superhuman powers. To Eagle, with his bird and animal assistants and companions, was attributed the building of the world, the institution of certain cultural, social, and physical features of man and his way of life. This prehistoric period, described in a fairly full but not elaborately detailed stock of stories, came to an end with the creation of mankind by Eagle and the subsequent transformation of these bird-and-animal people into their present known forms. All this happened beyond the memory of man, but the past continued into the present in the immediate ubiquity of the animals themselves. Beliefs about them were being constantly reinforced by daily happenings in the circumjacent wilds.

The "earth-diver" creation myth was singularly appropriate for the San 773
Joaquin valley people: in aboriginal times the valley bottom was filled with water and as far as the eye could see stretched tule beds thriving along the innumerable sloughs and swampy shores. At least once in the memory of each generation the seasonal flood increased to enormous, alarming proportions. Entirely congruous then, was the belief that once the world was all water and that Eagle, in his omniscience, asked Duck to dive and bring up a speck of sand from which to make a solid earth. Then Falcon and Crow, each flying north on parallel routes, dropped earth to form the pair of mountain ranges, Coast on the west, Sierra Nevada on the east. Coyote stole the sun to provide light, and Jack Rabbit stole fire which Bat had discovered. Falcon and Crow got Tobacco, which gave itself to them; Deer gave himself as food; Cougar hunted him, though Coyote spoiled easy success; Bear made a sweathouse and showed other animals how this should be done; all animals save the carnivores drank *Datura* ceremonially. Eagle wanted immortality, but Coyote argued against it, thereby losing his son, Blue Lizard. Falcon was a hero; his wife Duck, when stolen by Condor was sought by Crow and Bottle-Fly. When Eagle finally created man, Lizard offered his hand as a model. Then Eagle felt the animals should leave and he gave each his choice of habitat and of future service to human beings, as (beside those named above) Skunk and Owl would help shamans, Quail would help women in childbirth, and so on. Then they all "flew off" eastward where today they still exist and know how mankind treats their counterparts on earth. During the animal or prehistoric era the social system was like that of today: Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, Coyote a clown, Magpie an advisor, and so on.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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773 825 To sum up, Yokuts verbal narratives embodying world history pictured a prototype of the world as they themselves knew it: man and animals changed places, so to say. And, if Yokuts imagination projected backwards the social system of their present, it no less brought forward and attributed to living animals the power they had in the past. Hence, the Yokuts view of the animal world was of more than a subsistence potential. Animals were a power potential as well. It is notable that mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals; a few were important but there was no single hero or trickster who usurped the spotlight.

825 This rather tedious recital leads to a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture: that men and animals are peers. The animals were here first; today all dwell together, and while men may exploit these creatures for food and power they may not do so without due regard for their reactive and capricious qualities. It is difficult to convey the subtleties of Yokuts-Mono attitudes, their own position relative to other living beings in the world, without resorting to anecdote. As an example, then:

> Palaha, who was a fine hunter, told of an experience. He set up a rude platform in an oak tree where he intended to hide just before dawn to drop acorns down as a bear lure, then shoot the animal as it fed. He went out as planned—it was barely light. As he came under the tree something hit him on the head; acorns were falling from the platform. Looking up, he saw a small bear standing on the framework and nuzzling at the hoard of bait which rolled off the sides. This Palaha thought excessively funny: that their postions should be reversed, and that the bear was doing to him what he had intended doing to the bear. But beyond this was the sense that the bear thought it funny too, that somehow it was intentional on the animal's part to indulge in a humorous trick.

So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.

The most potent and personal association between the Yokuts-Mono and their faunal contemporaries was manifest in the combination of social and religious systems which provided an animal symbol of patrilineal source to every person. This creature was no less a source of supernatural power than others of the animal world which might be approached for aid if superhuman enablement were desired. A specific relation between tutelary and protégé (po´ša and pošaʼm, respectively) existed both for the totemic (patrilineally inherited) animal and for the randomly sought individual animal patron. There was probably no person in Yokuts and Western Mono society who did not have what we may call a social symphysis with some animal, at least in incipient form, and in most

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6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and teecac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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OFFICIALS IN MYTHOLOGY

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Both Yokuts and Western Mono mythology tell of a world which existed before this one. It was inhabited by supernatural creatures called by bird and animal names. They had the attributes of both humans and animals: they flew, walked, talked, and were capable of superhuman activities. These creatures lived in a social atmosphere comparable to that of later human times. Eagle was the chief.[12] He was a wise and generous person. Dove was his winatum whom he sent about on errands. Magpie was a wise man whom Eagle sometimes consulted. Coyote was a person with much supernatural power: he was a friend and companion to Eagle though the latter had often to chide and correct him for his irresponsible behavior. Owl was a powerful shaman. These animals lived before and during a great primeval flood. They finally became tired of the watery world, and caused the waters to recede and the land to appear as it is today.

There are many tales telling of the animals' activities and adventures during the post-alluvial period which was prior to the creation of human beings. Prairie Falcon, Coyote, and Wolf have the most prominent rôles in these tales. Eagle's part in them is always in keeping with his position as chief. He lives in a dignified manner in his home in a rock cliff. He has no adventures himself but is a judicial manager in many important crises and events. He sends various animals to obtain fire;[13] he directs Coyote in his theft of the sun and subsequent fixing of the sun in its present place;[14] he sends Dove after Measuring Worm to rescue two boys trapped upon a precipitous rock;[15] he asks Magpie's advice for Coyote, who wants to marry Hawk Woman;[16] he discusses permanent death with Coyote, and asks Owl to kill Coyote's son as an original experiment with death.[17] It is Eagle who finally decides that human beings are to be created, and that the birds and animals must go to live elsewhere.[18]

[12] Gifford, Western Mono Myths (JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923), 352; Kroeber, Myths of South Central California, this series, 4:206, 209, 219, 224, 229, 230, 240, 1907; Yokuts and Western Mono tales in author's field notes. The Wobonuch and Waksachi versions also mention Prairie Falcon as chief, which was in harmony with actual practice.

[13] Truhohi (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 211; Dumna (Y), Wukchumni (Y), Wobonuch (WM), author's field notes.

[14] Tachi (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 213; Waksachi (WM), author's notes.

[15] Kechayi (Y), author's notes.

[16] Gashowu (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 206.

[17] Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

[18] Truhohi (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 210, 211; North Fork Mono, Gifford, *ibid.*, 317; Wukchumni (Y), Waksachi (WM), Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

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The following Wukchumni (Y) tale is typical, and shows Eagle's position and power, and Dove as his messenger:[19]

In the old days there was nothing in this world. It was just full of water. The birds and animals were here first. Eagle said: "I'm tired of living over this water, I want a little oak to grow up there in the middle." This happened.

There were also present five varieties of ducks, Haiyano, Hoboda, Wacicina, Teututpoi, and a very little one. They were going to try to get some dirt up from under the water. Eagle sent Dove after some tobacco which he needed to mix with the sand. Dove got it and gave it to the chief. Eagle said to the littlest duck: "Can you go to the bottom and get some sand?" He tied a milkweed string to the duck's foot, and the bird dived into the water. He stayed down all day and half the night. He died without striking the bottom. Eagle pulled him out, and restored him to consciousness. The little duck told his friends that he had not reached the bottom. All the other ducks tried with the same result.

Then Eagle called on Turtle to try. He said he was willing. He went down and remained under the water a whole day and a whole night. He was nearly dead when he came up to the surface. While he was under the water he had barely succeeded in scratching the bottom with his finger tips. Some sand was lodged under his finger nails. Eagle got out this sand.

Eagle, the chief, then rolled the sand and tobacco together and pounded them in a mortar. He took up a handful of the mixture and scattered it toward the south, east, north, and lastly toward the west. As he did so he said: "In twelve days all this water will go down." This happened. All the birds and animals were able to walk about on the ground.

Finally these creatures got tired of just staying about doing nothing. Eagle and Wolf were bored too. Eagle sent Dove to call all the people together. He said: "Go tell these people to come out and listen to what I am going to say."

When Dove went to get Bear he had to run from him as Bear killed every man who came near him. They ran a race to a gap in the hills. Bear said: "You run and I'll catch you." But Dove ran faster and won. Bear agreed to come to the meeting.

At the place where the animals gathered there was a big fire. The chief told his people that they could all live elsewhere and do as they pleased. Some liked the mountains; others could live in the flat. Then he told them what they were to be. He was Eagle and he flew off.

The abrupt close of this tale is atypical. Another Wukchumni informant gave the complete form. But the conclusion of the Bird-animal period in which Eagle was the creator-chief is best exemplified in the following Waksachi-Michahai version:[20]

Sun and fire were now established. Eagle, the chief, gathered all the people around him to listen. He said: "There are going to be human beings here in this world. We are going to be different kinds of people. We will put up one man and one woman in each place. Now these people will die and be burned; their bones will be put in a spring of water. On the second dawn they will rise up and come toward us talking. But after this one rebirth they will never come alive again."

[19] Told in English by Joe Pohot, 1925.

[20] Told in English by Sam Cabera, 1926.

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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it.

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Wakaachi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

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The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world.

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] [825] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
431] giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but
[431] were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony,
[566] were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
773 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west
[787] is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

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436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

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teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kaï'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kaï'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

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one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484
or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764
only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766]
A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry 587
within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 765
not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- [177]
tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775
nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773
About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

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773 while the crow made the west one. Little by little, as they dropped in the earth, these great mountains grew athwart the face of the waters, pushing north. It was a work of many years, but finally they met together at Mount Shasta, and their labors were ended. But, behold, when they compared their mountains, it was found that the crow's was a great deal the larger. Then the hawk said to the crow, "How did this happen, you rascal? I warrant you have been stealing some of the earth from my bill, and that is why your mountains are the biggest." It was a fact, and the crow laughed in his claws. Then the hawk went and got some Indian tobacco and chewed it, and it made him exceedingly wise. So he took hold of the mountains and turned them round in a circle, putting his range in place of the crow's; and that is why the Sierra Nevada is larger than the Coast Range.

This legend is of value as showing the aboriginal notions of geography. In explaining the story, the Indian drew in the sand a long ellipse, representing quite accurately the shape of the two ranges; and he had never traveled away from King's River.

769 While in Coarse Gold Gulch, it was my good fortune to witness the great dance for the dead (*ko-tĭ'-wa-chil*), which was one of the most extraordinary human spectacles I ever beheld. It was not the regular annual dance, but a special one, held by request of Ko-lo'-mus-nim, a subchief of the Chukchansi; but it was in all respects as strange, as awful, as imposing an exhibition of barbaric superstition and barbaric affection as is afforded by the formal anniversary. Not to my dying hour will the recollection of that frightful midnight pageant be effaced.

First, it will be well to explain that among the Yokuts the dance for the dead is protracted nearly a week. The first two or three nights, while they are waiting for the assembling of the tardy delegations, are occupied only in speech-making, story-telling, etc., until a late hour; but during the last three nights they dance throughout the night until morning, and on the third night, about daybreak, they burn the offerings consecrated to the dead. This happened to be the first of the last three nights, hence no burning occurred, but in every other respect it was complete, and all the

[p.8-B]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 ● 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6] Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
●773 revived by easy means. The other story is that
of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young
wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are
localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be-
lieved to record recent historical events, New-
man obtained two, one the narrative of an actual
war between several tribal groups (which is not
included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton re-
corded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Trans-
formation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and
the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an
actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture
persist, seems more palpably in effect in myth-
ology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There
is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts
and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands
of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is
theoretically free to choose his literary ma-
terials, yet he persistently tells his story ac-
cording to traditional form. This observation
is an old one, but it can never be overempha-
sized. And it is recalled here because the
stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North
American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible
dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades,
and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in
their tales. But instead of being used fre-
quently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in
Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly,
one in one tale, another in another. Now, this
may be narrative restraint, or it may be con-
forming to tradition, or both. But simplicity
is maintained in spite of the possibility for
florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear
upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may
be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths
as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
young as historic fact--this was the way land
[869] was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals over-
come, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should
necessitate adherence to general plot even though
details might be altered or augmented. The sec-
ond factor, which actually would affect the

[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

[p 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p.11-A - ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
● 773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Wakaachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

[p.14-B]

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The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

[128]

[p.15-A]

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts. 1/

1/ [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES - ANALYST]